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[642] Art. 29. The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR presides at the sittings of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and has charge of the conduct of its business and proceedings.

[643] Art. 30. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR twice a year.

Extraordinary sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR at its discretion or on the demand of one-third of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 31. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR consisting of a President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, twelve Vice-Presidents, according to the number of the Autonomous Republics, the Secretary of the Presidium and 13 Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 32. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for all its activities.

Art. 33. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR:

a) Convenes the sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;

b) Issues decrees;

c) Gives interpretations of the laws of the Russian SFSR;

d) Conducts nation-wide polls (referendums);

[645] e) Annuls decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of territories and regions and the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions, if they do not conform to the law;

f) In the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, releases and appoints Ministers of the Russian SFSR, on the recommendation of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR, subject to subsequent confirmation by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR;

g) Institutes titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;

h) Confers titles of honour of the Russian SFSR;

i) Exercises the right of pardoning citizens convicted by judicial organs of the Russian SFSR;

j) Appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Russian SFSR to foreign states;

k) Receives the letters of credence and recall of diplomatic representatives accredited to it by foreign states.

Art. 34. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR elects a Credentials Committee to verify the credentials of the members of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

On the report of the Credentials Committee, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR decides whether to recognize the credentials of deputies or to annul their election.

Art. 35. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, when it deems necessary, appoints commissions of investigation and audit on any matter.

It is the duty of all institutions and officials to comply with the demands of such commissions and to submit to them all necessary materials and documents.

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646 Art. 36. A member of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR may not be prosecuted or arrested without the consent of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, when the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is not in session, without the consent of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

643 Art. 37. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of
644 the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR orders
[644] new elections to be held within a period not exceeding two months from the date of expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 38. On the expiration of the term of office of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR retains its powers until the newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR shall have formed a new presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 39. The newly-elected Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is convened by the outgoing Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR not later than three months after the elections.

645 Art. 40. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR appoints the Government of
[645] the Russian SFSR, namely, the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Chapter IV. The Organs of State Administration of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic

Art. 41. The highest executive and administrative organ of state power of the Russian SFSR is the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 42. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR is responsible and accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, or, in the intervals between sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 43. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR issues decisions and orders on the basis and in pursuance of the laws in operation of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, and of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and verifies their execution.

Art. 44. Decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR are binding throughout the territory of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 45. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR:

a) Coordinates and directs the work of the Ministries of the Russian SFSR and of other institutions under its jurisdiction; coordinates and verifies the work of the authorized representatives of the all-Union Ministries;

b) Adopts measures to carry out the national-economic plan;

c) Adopts measures to fulfil the state and local budgets of the Russian SFSR;

d) Adopts measures for the maintenance of public order, for the protection of the interests of the state, and for the safeguarding of the rights of citizens;

e) Directs and verifies the work of the Councils of Ministers of the Autonomous Republics, directs and verifies the work of the Executive Committees of territorial and regional Soviets of Working People's Deputies;

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f) Sets up, whenever necessary, special Committees and Central Administrations under the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR for economic and cultural affairs;

g) Exercises guidance in the sphere of the relations of the Russian SFSR with foreign states, on the basis of the general procedure established by the USSR governing the relations of Union Republics with foreign states;

h) Directs the organization of the military formations of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 46. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR has the right to annul decisions and orders of Executive Committees of regional and territorial Soviets of Working People's Deputies and of Executive Committees of Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions as well as to suspend decisions and orders of Councils of Ministers of Autonomous Republics, decisions and orders of regional and territorial Soviets of Working People's Deputies and Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions.

The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR has the right to annual orders and instructions of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 47. The Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR and consists of:

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR;
The Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR;
The Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Russian SFSR;
The Ministers of the Russian SFSR;
The Chief of the Arts Administration;
The Chairman of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions.

Art. 48. The Government of the Russian SFSR or a Minister of the Russian SFSR to whom a question of a member of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR is addressed must give a verbal or written reply in the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR within a period not exceeding three days.

Art. 49. The Ministers of the Russian SFSR direct the branches of state administration which come within the jurisdiction of the Russian SFSR.

Art. 50. The ministers of the Russian SFSR, within the limits of the jurisdiction of their respective Ministries, issue orders and instructions on the basis and in pursuance of the laws of the USSR and the Russian SFSR, of the decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and of the orders and instructions of the Union-Republican Ministries of the USSR, and verify their execution.

Art. 51. The Ministries of the Russian SFSR are either Union-Republican or Republican.

Art. 52. Each Union-Republican Ministry of the Russian SFSR directs the branch of state administration of the Russian SFSR entrusted to it, with the exception of only a limited number of enterprises, according to a list confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and is subordinate both to the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR and the corresponding Union-Republican Ministry of the USSR.

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645 Art. 53. Each Republican Ministry of the Russian SFSR directs the branch of state administration entrusted to it and is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers of the Russian SFSR.

[642] Art. 54. The following Ministries of the Russian SFSR are Union-Republican Ministries of the Russian SFSR:

The Ministry of Internal Affairs
The Ministry of State Control
The Ministry of State Security
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
The Ministry of the Armed Forces
The Ministry of Cinematography
The Ministry of Light Industry
The Ministry of Forestry
The Ministry of the Timber and Paper Industry
The Ministry of the Meat and Dairy Industry
The Ministry of the Building Materials Industry
The Ministry of Public Health
The Ministry of the Fish Industry
The Ministry of the Food Industry
The Ministry of State Farms
The Ministry of Agriculture
The Ministry of Trade
The Ministry of Finance
The Ministry of Justice.

Art. 55. The following Ministries of the Russian SFSR are Republican Ministries:

The Ministry of the Housing Construction Industry
The Ministry of Motor Transport
The Ministry of the Municipal Economy
The Ministry of Local Industry
The Ministry of the Local Fuel Industry
The Ministry of Education
The Ministry of Social Maintenance.

Chapter V. The Higher Organs of State Power of Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics

635 Art. 56. The highest organ of state power in an Autonomous Republic is the Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

Art. 57. The Supreme Soviet of an Autonomous Republic is elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Republic on the basis prescribed by the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic.

Art. 58. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republic is the sole legislative organ of the Autonomous SSR.

Art. 59. The Supreme Soviet of the Autonomous Republics

a) adopts the Constitution of the Autonomous Republic and proposes it to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for confirmation;

b) determines the division of the Autonomous Republic into districts and the boundaries of districts and towns and proposes them to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian SFSR for confirmation;

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not by means of a popular revolution as in the West. Accordingly the new bureaucratic rule was based on the *Ukaz*[3] and the knut as much as the old order. For the same reason, though the state was formally secularized, the traditions of an autocracy, divinely ordained and supported by God, were carried on by every official as the representative of the Czar.[4]

Therefore the new system of autocracy based on bureaucracy, the same as the old one based on service nobility, could not recognize any political or personal rights of the subjects. Nor could there have developed any *esprit de corps* among the new governing class. This new class of officials owned little or no land and had to live on meager salaries, but was eager to follow the traditions and the high standards established by the old landed nobility. The chinovnichestvo therefore became even more dependent upon the Czar than the dvorianstvo was earlier. There was even less *esprit de corps* and less solidarity in the new governing class than in the old. Each official was constantly in fear of jeopardizing his own social position if he stood up in defense of any of his colleagues. Besides, in this hierarchical system of power the ruin or falling into disfavor of one official often meant the ascendancy of the other. There was, therefore, a tendency to take advantage of such a situation, to resort to intrigues and calumnies, and to help to destroy rather than to rehabilitate a victim.

All the powers, the lawmaking, the application of law, and the justice were placed into the hands of these bureaucrats. At the same time the system of checks and controls was very deficient. Laws were enacted by special temporary commissions of high officials, and created *ad hoc*. The Council of State, a supreme policy-making body, composed of about seventy to eighty highest dignitaries, was appointed by the Czar to serve him only in advisory capacities. The final decision rested in the hands of the Czar, or with the camarilla clique which happened at the moment to be most influential. The Empire was administratively divided into provinces (*gubernia*) which were usually headed by army generals. The gubernias were divided into districts which were headed by chiefs of police. The governors, supported by the police, ruled autocratically in their domains. They were